/28 cont./

862 their share of food, they quickly eat theirs and wait till the mother
673 is not there to snatch the share of a younger or weaker brother by force, by stealth, by deception, by false promises, or by coercion in some form, such as threatening to reveal to the parents some misdeed not known to them.

862 In general, the growing Guajiro child is never satisfied with
261 the amount of food he gets, and in his craving for more he places no normal restraint on his appetite. He is always capable of eating more than he can normally hold, even to the point of suffering, in the hope of building up a reserve or because, feeling himself undernourished, he finds pleasure and satisfaction in eating to repletion. He always eats as if he were starving, which sometimes is the case, but at other times is only the remembrance of past hunger and the fear of its repetition.

Parents believe that the habit of these small thefts may lead to bigger robberies from people not relatives, which would bring about a series of troubles to the family group to which the young delinquent belongs. Also, the food stolen may be necessary and even indispensable for home use, and the theft means that an adult, a sick relative, or a visitor whom they wish or need to look after is deprived of it. One has to bear in mind that in certain parts of the country the sources of food supplies are so few that food is scrupulously rationed to last out until new supplies become available.

Children are also punished as their parents want them to behave abstemiously and uncomplainingly during the long spells of scarcity so frequent in this country, /29/ although they have their reward later when, in time of abundant harvest, food is plentiful and extravagantly used, only sufficient seed being retained for the next sowing. During these times of scarcity the Guajiro lives on a very reduced food ration and puts up with hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, and mothers want their children to achieve a similar standard: to behave like adults in such circumstances.

862 A further motive for correction and punishment is when the
574 child refuses to share the food that has been given to him or that

/29 cont./

862 574 he himself has obtained by his own efforts, with a brother, relative, or friend who comes to the house. He is made to do so by force if he does not do so voluntarily, for this hospitality is the norm of conduct in La Guajira, as it is customary for the group to afford mutual aid, and the sharing of food is one of the most obvious manifestations of this. For the Guajiro, whether he possesses much or little, will share it with his consanguineous relatives; norms of hospitality founded on the basis of strengthening their own personal prestige, as well as that of their clan, oblige the individual to receive a guest courteously in accordance with his status and that of his group and with his standing as a visitor, a welcome that has the quality of reciprocating attentions of a similar nature received from the guest and a desire to repay the same with interest. For this reason the parents believe that they should make their child comply with these social precepts and show himself to be generous, such being ideal character traits in the opinion of the Guajiro. They regard such cases as an opportunity to train him to comply with established custom; they fear that in the future the boy may not comply with those principles which form the economic link between members of the consanguineous group and are the basis of clan social etiquette. For this reason they punish the child and oblige him to comply.

862 Another cause for punishment in this matter of food is the waste of food, more so if the child should stamp on it in a temper. In that case, he is severely punished. We believe that the Guajiro is right, because fear of the scarcity of food is an ever present problem which causes both adults and children to eat beyond the limit of their normal appetites in times of abundance. For this reason they believe that if the child wastes food he will suffer shortages greater than ever, and this punishment, by social law, will apply, as is natural, to all of them.

* * *

867 2. A principle that the child must comply with under parental authority is submission to orders given him, whether

/111 cont./

593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at the foot of the hammock on which he is resting, and she will recount to him all that has happened during his absence and the conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the [264] obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

593 Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends 574 when they come to the house is another of her obligations. ● It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

/111 cont./

573 with them, seated near her husband at the foot of the ham-
574 mock he occupies. If it should happen that the husband and his friends are on a spree and have gone to the house to continue drinking, she may only take part by bringing them drinks, by answering briefly the questions they put to her, without entering into the men's conversation, because if she should the group would dissolve, beginning with the husband, who would angrily accuse her of being a meddler. Her behavior at these times must be very circumspect, and she should be ready to prevent any /112/ controversial discussion bordering on a quarrel, which might bring troublesome consequences. In case this should occur it is her obligation to calm and separate the contenders so that they may not do each other harm, and later to endeavor to calm the inflamed tempers.

574 If any visitor should arrive at the house when the husband is absent, the wife should attend to him properly, for if not the guest will complain to the husband of the discourtesies of his wife. But in these circumstances she should observe certain norms of conduct intended to defend her own honor. For example, a hammock should be slung in the enramada so that the visitor can rest, but she should never let him follow her into her room or into the house, because if her husband should hear of it he would bitterly reproach such behavior. Also any curious passer-by could recount the presence of a strange man in the room while her husband was away, giving the latter ample cause to complain openly, putting the woman's prestige in jeopardy. When the guest is resting in the hammock, she sits at the foot to attend to him, occupying herself with some manual labor which permits her to give her attention to the visitor.

563 The woman should show special interest in keeping up and improving her husband's belongings. It is her duty to keep his clothing, his weapons, his personal effects, etc., clean and in good repair and to be able to give a good account of all these when her husband asks about them. The

/229 cont./

The woman usually takes charge of the care of all sick persons in the home whether they are being submitted to treatment by the shaman or are just simple cases. She remains by their side and gives them all necessary attention.

The Guajiro woman should carry out two general functions in her home, functions that acquire more or less importance according to the standing she has. One of them is to see that all the chores and work of the home are adequately done. she must carry out these personally or be assisted in them by her daughters or other consanguineous female relatives with whom she lives, or be assisted by female servants, bond servants, or slaves. In the first case, the activities are distributed by mutual agreement; and in the second, she must take charge of the ordering, the overseeing, and the direction of all work and of the personnel who assist her.

The second of these functions is that of fully satisfying the traditional norms of courtesy and hospitality, attentions that must be shown by giving lodging and meals, etc., to every visitor who comes to the Guajiro home, because the visitor is a guest, because considerations of friendship or blood tie him to his hosts, and because of reciprocity for similar hospitality received previously, which for the sake of prestige, /230/ the host must repay in equal or in greater measure. In all these tasks the woman can count on the aid of her consanguineous relatives and on the female staff she has under her orders. Furthermore, every wife personally carries out for her husband or a male relative certain gestures of hospitality and care (when he is a head), which their culture requires from each of them and which not only cannot be delegated but have an obligatory character within the conjugal life.

Normally, the man, head of the house, directs the family activities that must be accomplished each day in the different branches of work. He does this personally or with the aid of his relatives or staff. When the head of the house and his sons are absent from home, it is up to the wife to direct the activities that are usually in the hands of the husband, or to carry them out in the same way as the men would.

[21cont.]

755 796 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is organized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick person is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with [515] soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized [574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing [273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with 291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the 755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made 796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma- 556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily 755 work. If animals are sacrificed -- which depends on the wealth 796

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

●574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered *fair* for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[5]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
574 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Guajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and caste membership. In only one case does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is incorrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

9: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

cemetery, a site chosen in some solitary wild spot, and surrounded by a wall of mud. At the death of Salvador, a Peninsino from Arroyo Carden, 120 fat cows were killed, and the bible did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have gone), or "Kiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pani, with a great spoon, punkia. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As for their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Guajiro is more hospitable than the Arbuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalrous in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but servilely will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix ouki or ouki if the father, and ei or ei if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Ouki-juan," or if a daughter, "Ouki-juana." The mother of Juan would be called "Eijuan," and if a daughter, "Eijuana."

The dress of the Guajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is evincing in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called enkira. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he dons his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle shi, with a magnificent mesh, shine. The mantle is arranged with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and twirling it into his immense mesh, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and not short, is kept back in a very eclectic style by a ring or crown

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Gonjire SC13

as his herds are large there are quite a number still unbranded. Parlowo informed me that at the time of his death, those left unbranded will automatically—following the inheritance rule—go to his nephew.

The attitudes of these two nephews, Haro on one hand, and Paro, Parlowo's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Haro has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat disturbed. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other, not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Parlowo and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other visits with regularity, and Parlowo shows a paternalistic attitude toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paro never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not.

Parlowo has other nephews, brothers of Paro and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Parlowo at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong line regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Camilo is the only son of a poor man living at Cardon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manaure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Camilo often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Camilo shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manaure and verified the impression of him given by Camilo. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Camilo does and in how he is getting along in life.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

or 18 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Guajira wherever we find a mixed group the women in-

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

(562) (604) variably stay somewhat in the background, the attitude of Estrella in the presence of her uncle is not marked by that stiff formality so obvious in the attitude of Ilaro and his uncle. She shows no signs of disrespect, but on the other hand she is perfectly free to interrupt her uncle whenever she feels like doing so and nobody can criticize her. This she does not do frequently, but during the course of the conversation which the present writer observed she interrupted him twice with no apparent annoyance or disapproval on the part of Ramonito. His attitude toward her was very much the same. Respect is shown by both, but that marked formality that is so apparent in the uncle-nephew relations is lacking. This may possibly be due to the fact that the nephew is of course the receiver of benefits — theoretically at least — and consequently must show great respect in the way of a stiff formality in order not to anger his uncle, while in the other case the uncle receives benefits through his niece, and although she cannot override her uncle altogether (562) because of the general lackwardness of women in the Goajiro, rigid formality, at least, is absent. This interpretation was clarked up with the native informants, to discover if possible their own views. The matter was found to be far from clear in their minds, but they were all of the opinion that the above economic considerations, may be a factor in explaining the presence of the rigid formality in one case and its absence in the other.

In the case of Carmelina the situation is somewhat different. Although there were no outward signs of disrespect shown by either Carmelina or her uncle, there was no sign at all of affection between them, especially on the part of Carmelina. She treated her uncle very coldly, seldom addressed him and paid little attention to what he said. The writer had been working with Carmelina and her husband all one morning and was to stay that day and night with them. Around midmorning the uncle (574) joined the group but was not invited to stay for dinner, although on several occasions he tried to get himself invited. After he left both Carmelina and her husband spoke sharply about her uncle. The writer was unfortunately unable to contact the uncle and get his opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, it is apparently safe to conclude that while the relations between

7:Bolinder 7-5 (1925, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called *'anuli pia'* 'You have come?' and we answered *'ee'*, yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajiros, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [936] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [938] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [940] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children.

[578] 577 The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

[735] 567 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire.

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song.

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation.

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking. Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

4 goats, 5 pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of yarn, 5 bars of soap (an expensive commodity) and some mirrors and handkerchiefs. Employees are very well insured, it would seem. If an employee destroys anything belonging to a third party, the employer has to pay twice its value or more. One's responsibility is not confined to what persons in one's service may do, but extends to animals and inanimate objects if one lends them. If I let an Indian ride my horse and the horse throws him off, I have to pay; and if someone cuts himself on a knife belonging to me, I have to pay—for it was my knife that did it.

It can even be risky to give advice in Guajira: for if you suggest a course of action and things go wrong, you may have to pay compensation. That is why the Indians will seldom tell you the way when you ask it.

A host is responsible to his guests, even if they are self-invited. Hospitality is sacred and one cannot refuse to receive someone seeking shelter. If the guest is ill, the host looks after him as best he can, but immediately sends for one of his relations. As soon as a relative arrives the host's responsibilities cease, but if the guest should die before the relative gets there, the host is liable for damages, hard as it may seem. On the other hand, if a person suffering from an infectious disease goes to someone else's house, it is the guest who is responsible and must pay his host damages.

If two guests start fighting the host is considered jointly responsible, for if he had not invited them there would never have been a fight. If the others present do not try to avert the quarrel, they must pay up to .

Insults and calumny are contrary to the law, and it is especially serious if one reviles another's mother's family. Among themselves the Indians consider it disparaging to be addressed in Spanish, instead of in their mother tongue.

Every Indian has a personal name used only by his nearest and dearest. For an outsider to pronounce this calls for a heavy penalty, as it does to speak the name of someone dead. As soon as it is learned that someone has died, all those with the same name at once change it for another. The

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[831] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
583 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[273] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[574] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten
[762] or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border.

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing.

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *saw* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint.
And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[184] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladrvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladrvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

● 577 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as
hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladrvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

?:Bolinder T-3 (1926, 1955) 1957
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have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was.

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man.

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled.

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 [832] calabash of salt water over the animals' legs. The fact remains that both riding and pack animals trotted along considerably more briskly that day.

The following day we could see Jepitz, solitary cone-shaped hill of the savannas, blue in the distance. The Cusina Hills had withdrawn. The worst of the danger from bandits must now be over, we thought. We were to learn, however, that the bandits made longer raids than we had imagined.

580 If we had now set course for Jepitz, or La Teta as the Creoles called it, we could have cut across western Guajira to Rio Hacha, a short cut that would have taken only a few days. We had other plans, however. We wanted to go into Venezuela, to which Southern Guajira and the coast up to Castilletes belongs, and visit the Sinamaica lagoons where, on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, live the Paraujano Indians, the Guajiro's nearest relatives. While the Guajiro's country is as dry as a desert, one could almost call the Paraujano water Indians, for they live in pile-dwellings out in the water. We knew that they did not retain as much of their original culture as did the Guajiro, though they still dwelt as their ancestors had, but even so we felt that it would be interesting to visit them. Also, as we had to admit to ourselves, the thought of all that water was tempting after going short for so long. There were still wide savannas ahead of us, but we knew that the worst was over.

5814 We now came across a minor chief with his herds. He had camped under some trees and welcomed us with exaggerated friendliness, but then both he and his men had already had one over the eight. However, they were still at the merry stage, though fighting would inevitably come later. The chief had bought no small quantity of spirits. There was a whole row of kegs. When he heard that we intended to continue, which obviously grieved him considerably, he tried to press one of these kegs on us. We were to take it and drink his health on our way. We managed with considerable difficulty to decline the gifts and instead received a hammock, sandals and some arrows, which we valued much more. Then off we went.

580 The savanna was almost bare and we could not hang up

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
593 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
656 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
579 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 736
pay for leading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 542
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another